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might be substituted, would demonstrate the failure of fourteenth century legislation. Medieval statute-makers had a commendable fashion of detailing the evils that their prohibitory enactments were meant to remedy. Many of their preambles are well worth quoting in evidence of contemporary opinion. Not even in the bibliographical notes do the original authorities receive sufficient attention. Whenever possible, the student should be put in possession of the first hand material for the author's conclusion. No study of domestic manufactures is complete without De Foe's account of the cloth weavers of Yorkshire. The disadvantages of open field agriculture have never been so well described as in Arthur Young's *Philippic*. Over against Alfred's arraignment of the employers of factory labor, should be set Ure's utilitarian philosophy. The full significance of the losing fight made by the agricultural laborers for a living wage can hardly be understood by an American reader without reference to the *Autobiography of Joseph Arch*.

KATHARINE COMAN.

*A History of the English Church.* Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. In seven volumes. Vol. I. *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597-1066)*. By the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A.; Vol. II. *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I. (1066-1272.)* By W. R. W. STEPHENS; Vol. III. *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.* By W. W. CAPES. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899-1901. Pp. xix, 444; xiii, 351; xi, 391.)

ANY one occupied with church history finds that down to the sixteenth century his imagination resides in Rome. From Rome he looks abroad to descry only those larger matters that loom above local horizons and enter into the general prospect. If this imaginative position secures perspective and clearness of general construction it fails to appreciate fully the manner in which the church system bore upon the national and parochial and individual life. The volumes of this series dealing with the English church to the close of the eighteenth century will be of special value as they lend concrete significance to the general account and explain the development of the institution which has so deeply affected both English and American life. The three volumes before our notice are a guarantee of scholarship for the whole series. A certain nationalist stamp on the Christian institutions of England may justify the title of the "English Church" before Henry VIII.'s time, but the first two volumes would have been the better had the authors conceived their theme a little more clearly as the history of the Catholic church in England.

With something of clerical feeling, Hunt dates the birth of the English church not from the conversion and baptism of the English but from

the consecration of Augustine as Archbishop. In the same spirit a large amount of the book is given to detail about appointments to prelaties and abbacies. The author is not wholly to blame for the absence of intellectual interests. It is not without meaning that John Scotus got his system out of English bounds and that his English pupils are reported to have stabbed him to death with their metal pens. Down to Wycliffe, England is easily omitted from any history of doctrine. It was a period of undisturbed theological slumber. The clergy were dispensers of sacraments and rulers of an institution. The only hint in Hunt's volume of a consideration of doctrine is when in the tenth century Abbot Aelfric echoes the eucharistic theory of Ratramnus of Corbie. Hunt ignores completely the effort of F. C. Conybeare to discover in the Celtic Christianity of Britain the early adoptionist christology and he credits no qualitative influence to the Celtic missions save that of an exaggerated asceticism. Blaming that excess, the author nevertheless enters into the spirit of the lives which he records and is generous in the ascription of holiness to men who earned the title by much fasting. If the long dispute about the date of Easter is the only thing to break the seemingly monotonous uniformity of early Christianity in England, the uniformity is most conspicuous in the constant miracles. In these the author has a singular interest and although he notices many simply as believed or, as in the case of Dunstan's pulling the devil's nose, attempts a rationalistic explanation, he is deferential if not credulous and in the preface argues for the acceptance of some miracles on the ground of evidence and suitability of character. Rejection of some is necessary because the works were contrary to the revealed will of God, but miracle in general is credible as the action of a law higher than that of the earthly universe. We hear much, therefore, of healings and visions and omens and incorrupt bodies of saints, but the line is distinctly drawn at a miraculous supply of mead for a drinking bout.

These things and the occupancy of sees claiming so much attention, there is no conception of historical development. None is found or explained. We have simply the succession of things which happened in ecclesiastical annals. One who is interested in the growth of the indulgence system turns to the English custom of money commutation of penalties only to find an incidental denial that this was due to church law. Naturally therefore Hunt fails to grasp any feature of church life as a problem for historical explanation. A typical instance is the monastic revival in the tenth century. This is treated simply as an importation of the Cluny reform into England, but, by Hunt's own account, Dunstan and Aethelwold seem to have, independently of the foreign model, yielded with new ardor to the claim of the religious ideal. What conditions stimulated them? We learn only the fact of their procedure. King Eadgar pressed the monastic reform but he was himself a profligate. His procedure is left all the less clear by Hunt's rejection of the story of doing penance to gain coronation. At Eadgar's death there was an anti-monastic reaction, described as political and social. Asking what political and

social interests were involved we get only a passing hint that the nobles lost control of the minster lands when the monks displaced the secular clergy. Why, again, did bishops aid in expelling the secular clergy with injurious results for themselves? A distinct feature of the English revival was the establishment of royal supremacy over convents. Simony and the inheritance of church estates by priestly families have only a passing mention and the impression left by Hunt is that attacks on clerical marriage were only an indirect result of the convent reform. Certainly however Eadgar attacked the marriage of the secular clergy and attempts were made to deprive married priests of their benefices. It may therefore be believed that English churchmen analyzed the problem of their time more thoroughly than is indicated and that they shared more fully the ideals of contemporary reformers on the continent. The insular point of view and the confinement of attention to the reform of the convents seem to have obscured some of the facts. One detail may be noted. The world's end "was expected at the beginning of the year 1000 in England as well as in Western Christendom generally." This is explanatory of a prediction in the Blickling homilies which were earlier than 971 and are not mentioned in Professor Burr's recent paper. Abbo of Fleury taught in England shortly after the editing of these homilies, and his apparent ignorance of them or of their popular effect makes against an English panic. He testifies only to an obscure earlier sermon in France.

In general method the second volume resembles the first. It is for the most part a sufficiently minute account of institutional happenings of local and national interest but without the fullness and emphasis on certain greater episodes and personalities which we should expect. In particular, the treatment of Becket cannot compare with Milman's in interest and distinctness. The reader fails to see in their full meaning certain critical events, which by their subsequent effects gave a certain plot and movement to the story of the English Church and should be salient in the literary construction, as the Conqueror's attempted separation of civil and ecclesiastical authority, the evils of simony and extortion under William Rufus, the reformative charter of Henry I., and the appointment of Archbishop William of Corbeil as papal legate. The author knows the meaning of these things but he does not make them loom large enough out of the detail of his book. It is a misfortune too that the student of church history does not learn more of the attitude of English churchmen to the great Gregorian programme. The battle of principles was being fought out in England. The struggle over investiture was brought to a compromise in England first of all. The demand for clerical celibacy was not so easily successful there as elsewhere, but the demand was certainly stronger than Stephens reports. His statement that the secular clergy took no vow of celibacy is not to be reconciled with the seventh canon of Westminster (1102). It would seem that this statement is due to a mistranslation of *profiteri*, for, in citing the canons of Westminster (1076), *non ordinare nisi prius profiterentur ut uxores non habeant* is rendered "not ordain any one un-

less he declare himself to be unmarried," while the context (Wilkins, I., 367), clearly makes it a pledge of future celibacy. If we wonder that marriage was entered into in spite of such an engagement we may recall that Alexander III. held that only a *votum solenne*, not a *votum simplex*, prevented marriage. As for the Gregorian idea in general it is evident that English prelates conceived it more in the sense of independence from the temporal power than in the sense of subordination to the papacy. They were affronted by the subserviency of John and Henry III. to papal feudalism. Englishmen, it is true, took small part in the great publicist debate, but without some indication that Anselm and Becket and others had a knowledge of the issues beyond the detailed incidents of their English experience they are not comprehended by the reader. Particularly is this true of Becket. The prelate to whom John of Salisbury dedicated his *Policraticus* had, as his letters show, a grasp of principle that relieves the aspect of arrogance and obstinacy. However, the eye of Stephens is for action rather than thought and for him as for Hunt there is a total absence of the history of theological ideas. Something might possibly have been gleaned but hardly by an author who finds Lanfranc's Augustinian view of the eucharist remarkable.

If the preceding books are sometimes wearisome by detail without perspective, the delightful work of Capes has not a dull page. It is packed with life. The period is rich in interest and the reader finds a mass of valuable facts skilfully constructed with a sense of just proportions and with an artistic imagination that presents the picture of English life in its vital movement with accomplished ease. We get the broader national and international aspects, but at the same time a vivid sense of the local and parochial experience of Englishmen in the disordered church system of those throbbing times. It is a great merit of the work that its eye is single for the facts and that the exposition proceeds without any mixture of polemic view, without any heat of praise or blame. The author's complete knowledge and comprehending sympathy enable him to hold and convey a discriminating and temperate view of many matters, like the condition of the mendicant orders, popular notions as to which have been formed on *ex parte* and satirical accounts. Nevertheless the whole narrative yields to the reader the argument which we call the logic of events. We see the irresistible movement of English life to a reform of intolerable conditions, to the ideals of Colet and More and to the drastic measures of Henry VIII. The book is of special value to the student of church history who knows in too isolated fashion the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire and the story of Wycliffe and the Lollards. Capes furnishes the ample and definite detail which is the setting of these episodes in a long prelude of preparation for the sixteenth century crisis. Particular gratitude is due for the delightful and intimate acquaintance afforded with the influence of the church on social life and its incidence upon the ordinary life of the laity. The justice and accuracy of this excellent

book leave little occasion for dissent but the author is apparently in error in failing to credit high intellectual aims to the founder of the Dominican order and he is surely misled by Walsingham in attributing to the rioting peasants of Wycliffe's time a fanatic love of illiteracy.

It may be noted that all these volumes pay attention to the architectural development, but in terms too technical for most readers.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion.* By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Co. 1901. Pp. xii, 463.)

MR. LEA has done well to make the history of the baptized Moors, the Moriscos, the subject of a separate book. For the first time this episode, full of dramatic situations and richly illustrative of the Spanish character and governmental methods of the time, is here clearly set forth in English in all its aspects. The task of the historian is to show how it came about that the Spanish government finally resolved on the expulsion of the Moors—perhaps the unwise thing that Spain ever did. In the early days of the struggle between the Spaniards and the Moslems toleration was the rule in the Peninsula. The Arab conquerors were lenient toward the Christians, allowing them the free exercise of their religion and a certain measure of self-government on condition of the payment of tribute and obedience to the civil authorities. As time went on Christians and Moors were mingled over a great part of the land, and the relations of the growing Christian states of the north with their Moslem neighbors were controlled by political considerations without regard to the difference of religious faith. In the same army were often found contingents from both peoples; the Cid fought indifferently on either side; in some places under Christian control the Moors formed a considerable part of the population. As early as the thirteenth century, however, this state of things began to be looked on with suspicion. The ecclesiastical authorities could not view with calmness the spectacle of a population of heathen in the midst of a Christian community—their presence, it was felt, was a contamination and a menace—it was resolved that they must be Christianized or expelled. This resolution took definite shape soon after the conquest of Granada in 1492, and culminated in the final expulsion of the Moors in 1614. How the antagonism of races was supplemented by constantly growing religious fanaticism—how violated promises drove the Moors to desperation—how the situation became so complicated that Spanish statesmanship could see no remedy but expulsion—this is what Mr. Lea undertakes to set forth. In a series of chapters he describes the condition of the Moors at the end of the fifteenth century, the attempts at their conversion by royal edicts and missionaries, the policy and methods of the Inquisition, the frightful oppres-